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others (see Pl. 4). Here the women work, cook, and gossip; the men may join them if they wish, except the boys wearing the *upi* (leaf hat connected with puberty ceremonies), to whom all that portion of the village is rigorously taboo.

The interior is alike in all. There are no dividing partitions. The floor is the bare earth, trodden hard. The only furniture is a row of broad planks propped up on small logs, along one side of the hut, which serve as beds. Short lengths of bamboo are used as pillows. Between each plank is just space enough for a small fire. There is probably a place for roasting taro with the aid of hot stones, the native oven, at the farther end of the hut near the women's entrance. Cooking pots, the cleaned-out coco-nut shells used to store water, packs for carrying taro, and a few personal possessions, lie on the ground; sometimes a plank is laid across two poles to form a shelf on which such objects can be kept out of the way. Bundles containing more valuable property hang from the rafters, tied up in banana fibre or old loin-cloths. Every returned plantation hand is the proud possessor of a wooden box with lock and key, part of the kit which must be provided by the employer for each of his 'boys' when they 'sign on', which he displays in a prominent position. All sorts of treasures such as medicine bundles, knives, &c., are stowed away between the thatch and the supporting rafters. Nets and banana-fibre straps for carrying burdens hang over the cross-poles that form part of the framework of the hut, and there is usually a basket containing some pieces of cold taro in case any one feels hungry at a time when it is not convenient to cook.

As a rule, the household consists of father, mother, and children. In the case of polygynous marriages, each wife will usually have her own hut, particularly if she has children, and the husband distributes his company as he pleases, spending a certain amount of time with the woman who ranks as his chief wife, but most of it with the one who for the time being stands highest in favour. A wife who is old or incapacitated, or one whose children have all started out for themselves, will often share a hut with one of the other wives, not always amicably. In some of the Buka villages large huts are now built, housing all the wives of one man; the interior of these is partitioned off into rooms for each. An aged parent of either sex may also form part of the household, the taboo between mother-in-law and son-in-law being relaxed when the former is old.

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601 The remainder of the terms to be discussed are concerned entirely with relationships entered into upon marriage.

11. *Uētē : mon* or *nuntʃē- : muta-*.

The first pair of terms, which actually mean merely 'man' and 'woman', or, as adjectives, 'male' and 'female', are the usual ones applied by a woman to her husband and by a man to his wife or wives. They are usually distinguished from the general term expressing merely the sex distinction by the addition of the possessive adjective, *uētē pio*, my husband, *mon pio*, my wife. They may be used as terms of address, and also by a third party, for example, another person speaking to a woman about her husband will say *uētē pe'en*, your husband. The second pair of terms is used only in referring to husband or wife in their absence, and not as terms of address. Both pairs may be used during the period between betrothal and marriage, but are applied only to the actual, and not to merely potential, mates.

[551] When newly married, couples do not use each other's personal name, for though there is no formal taboo on so doing, they are said to be 'ashamed'. They call each other *uētē* and *mon*. I have heard a woman call her husband *tab*, which is the exact equivalent of our 'old thing'!

The relationship between husband and wife is discussed in Chapter III.

12. *Waris* (term used reciprocally).

This term is used by a man with reference to both the parents of his wife, and is extended to cover all the other people his wife calls *tʃina-* or *tama-*, and also to her *tsoa-* and his wife, that is to say, to all his wife's relatives in the parental generation. Reciprocally, it is applied by all these people to the husband of any female they call *baï'i* or, in the case of the *tsoa-*, *pasunē*. This means that an unmarried girl is *waris* to the husband of her brother's or sister's children.

• 606 This is the most important of all the taboo relationships. But the full force of the restrictions is felt only in the case of *waris* of opposite sex, that is to say, between a man and his wife's mother. His wife's father is also his *waris*, and towards him he must conduct himself with respect and without undue familiarity. But his relations with all his female *waris*, and with the actual mother of his wife in

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particular, are hedged about with the strictest taboos that are known in this society. The woman is held chiefly responsible for seeing that these rules are kept, but the man, for his part, must take care that difficult situations do not arise through his fault, and that his mother-in-law is not put to undue inconvenience in observing the taboos between them.

A man must not see the face of his female *waris*, nor her hair. For this reason she carries about with her constantly a kind of pointed hood made of pandanus leaves, which, when her *waris* is present or expected, or where there is a chance of meeting him by accident, she keeps on her head, and pulls, if necessary, over her face. Most particularly she must never be seen by him while eating, and if she has to eat in his presence, she goes as far away from him as possible, pulls her hood over her face, and eats behind it. On encountering in the bush a party of which any relation a woman calls *waris* is likely to be one, she will leave the path and hide behind a tree till they have gone. I have often sat chatting with a group of women on the beach, when, at the approach of a party of men, some one will whisper '*W'aris*', and immediately those who have hoods with them will cover their faces, and those who have not will disappear. This custom was still being observed with the greatest strictness throughout the area at the time of my visit. A remark deriding it, made by the native R.C. Mission teacher at Tabut, was the occasion for an outburst of feeling on the part of the women both of that village and of Kurtatchi (described on p. 459). But Mr. Gordon Thomas, in a communication written about a year later, states that it has been abandoned on the island of Pororan (1933, no. 44), and there is no doubt that it will shortly disappear altogether.

Further restrictions on the relations between a man and his mother-in-law and other female *waris* are as follows: They must not defecate within sight of one another (in the ordinary way no shame is attached to being seen in the act of defecating). They must not touch one another. They must not sleep in the same house. They must not chew areca-nut in the presence of each other. They must not speak to one another directly, but must converse through the wife.

They must not say each other's personal name, nor even a substitute name. To refer to each other in speaking to a third party, the term *waris* is used. When there is a child, the mother-

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606 in-law may refer to her son-in-law as 'the father of So-and-so', and sometimes, even before the child is born, a name will be given to it for this purpose, which is changed at birth if the sex turns out to be wrong.

[888] This taboo ceases to operate when the wife's mother is very old. She may then go and live with her daughter and her *waris*, and be looked after by both of them. Sometimes the taboo is lifted when there are several children. One of the native Mission teachers told me that he did it when his first child was born, because it would not do for him to hold too closely to the old customs. But usually three or more children are born before the [784] taboo is removed. This is done by a small ceremony. The man makes ceremonial pudding, takes a piece of it, and also a piece of areca-nut, breaks both into two, eats one part himself and gives the other part to his *waris*, who also eats. If a number of children have been born but have all died in infancy, the taboo may still be broken in this way.

[689] If a man inadvertently sees his *waris* he must expiate the offence by paying a string of *imun* to her through his wife. When I asked what would happen if a man and his *waris* were caught looking at one another on purpose, the assembled company was—or professed to be—extremely shocked and protested that such a thing could not happen. I surmise that the face-saving scheme above-mentioned saves the situation in such a case.

606 184 764 At Petats I was told that the taboo cannot be lifted during the lifetime of the mother-in-law, but when she dies her son-in-law lifts the lid of the coffin and looks at her face, and throws a fathom of shell currency (*beroan*) into the coffin. This is supposed to be buried with her, but sometimes her own relatives take it out and keep it. If the son-in-law omits to do this there is gossip, and it is said that he is not sorry about the death of his *waris*.

13. *Ruanbē-* (term used reciprocally).

601 This term is used by a woman to and of her husband's actual parents, and also to and of any one who stands to her husband in the relation of *tama-* or *tʃina-* or *tsoa-*. Reciprocally, it is applied by both males and females to their son's wife, and also to the wives of all the men they call *bai'i*, and by a man to the wife of any man he calls *pasunē*, e.g. to the wife of his sister's son.

606 591 No restrictions are observed between *ruanbē-*, even where the

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persons concerned are of opposite sexes, as in the case of a woman and her husband's father. The son's wife spends a great deal of her time between betrothal and marriage living in the hut of her *ruanbē-* and working for them. After marriage the couple may live near them or near the wife's parents, but in the latter case will pay extended visits to her husband's parents at intervals.

14. *Suwan* (term used reciprocally).

This term is used by both parents of the husband in reference to both parents of his wife, and reciprocally by the parents of the woman in reference to the parents of the man. At the beginning of the young couple's married life the *suwan* relationship is accompanied by certain taboos which are considered only second in importance to those associated with the *waris* relationship. They do not, however, include any prohibition against seeing each other or against addressing each other directly, except that names may not be used, the term *suwan* serving as a form of address. *Suwan* may not touch one another, they may not eat in each other's presence, or even chew areca-nut together. But there is no objection to their sleeping in the same house.

These restrictions are removed when the wife has her first child, even if it dies. The two mothers prepare food, the two fathers prepare ceremonial pudding, and all four *suwan* eat together, each couple eating what the other couple has prepared, and the taboo is thus lifted.

15. *Taō* (co-wife).

This term is used by one of the wives of a man to refer to, and also sometimes to address, any of his other wives, though there is no restriction on the use of names in addressing one another. No distinction in terminology is made between the first or chief wife, and subsequent wives, but in practice the latter are supposed to give way to the former, though, if they stand high in their husband's favour, they probably will not do so. The man calls his wives *mon* without distinction of priority.

RELATIONSHIP SYSTEM AND REGULATION OF MARRIAGE

There are no enjoined or preferred marriages in this system. Although the boy may be, and generally is, older than the girl, marriages are, in general, with mates of the same generation.

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of a married couple is of more importance than the other, the spouse will take up residence in the village of the partner who has the higher status. In any case, the kindred, as defined above, counts for more than the clan. 612 613 591

The recognized social unit is the lineage, its head is the eldest living male, hence it follows that the person to whom an individual looks as the one officially in authority over him is his mother's eldest living brother. Some lineage groups take precedence of the rest; their members are known as *tsuraun*, and the head of such a group is a person of great authority, though now possessing less than in the olden days. 565 604 613

For the reckoning of descent and succession the mother's side of the house is all-important, the father's side completely ignored, i.e. the community is in this respect exclusively matrilineal. But in the case of inheritance of personal property, either in goods or in knowledge, the society is both matrilineal and patrilineal, that is to say, a man can bequeath such property to his son or to his sister's son, or divide it between them, as he pleases. 428 611

Throughout the area there are two main clans, but others, smaller in numbers, though not considered as subdivisions, occur: the names and number of these small clans differ in different districts. With each clan is associated some creature, usually, but not always, a bird, but the association now amounts to little more than that of name, though it may once have been more important. The significance of the clan as a social unit seems to have declined considerably with the abolition of warfare. 614 [721]

Marriage is normally exogamous, but exceptions to this rule seem always to have occurred not infrequently. The important thing is to avoid persons with whom direct relationship can be traced either through the mother or through the father, marriages between cousins and the children of cousins being strongly taboo. (This applies to both parallel and cross-cousins.) The bride is preferably obtained from another village. 582

The relationship system is a 'classificatory' one, comparable with those found in other parts of Melanesia, with strong taboos regulating social intercourse between certain persons. The most important of these are their regulations applying to the wife's mother–daughter's husband relationship, and to that between the parents of husband and the parents of wife. These restrictions are lifted under certain circumstances. 601 606

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SOME ECONOMIC MATTERS

Some occasions for the use of imun 436

1 fathom given to pay for making bull-roarer.
1 fathom given to old man for making *upi* for *wapi* ceremony.
1 fathom paid for making slit-gong, together with 10 bamboos of paint.
1 fathom given to old woman who performs the operation of cicatrization on a *tsunaun* child.
Several fathoms involved in marriage transactions, number according to whether woman is *tsunaun* or commoner. [583]
1 fathom hung up at door of house to remove *wagun* taboos. [784]
1 fathom given to mother-in-law if inadvertently seen by daughter's husband. [606]
1 fathom given as peace offering from one individual to another with whom he has quarrelled, 'to make good the other man's belly'. [627]
Hung up on the occasion of the funerary rites for a *tsunaun*. [766]
Hung up at the ceremony for a *tsunaun* child when he first sits on his mother's pack. [852]

DISCUSSION

The methods practised in this area illustrate three, if not all four, of the stages which mark 'the evolution of primitive commerce from simple exchange to a coinage system' (H. Balfour, lectures given at the Pitt-Rivers Museum). According to his view the simplest is a process of barter whereby one kind of goods is exchanged for another, the rate of exchange being whatever is mutually agreed upon at the time. Then, for convenience, an agreed rate of exchange is adopted, certain goods being given a fixed value which remains constant. The objects of fixed value may then be termed currency. Much of the trading described in the preceding pages falls somewhere between these two, the rates for, say, the exchange of fish and taro being more or less stable between any two districts, but no absolute value being adopted.[1] With the introduction of sticks of tobacco at the rate of three for a shilling the second stage is definitely reached. The stable values of lengths of shell disks and of teeth also qualify them to be classed as currency. The third or 'money' stage, in which some objects are set apart, 436 437

[1] It is noted by Thurnwald (1912a, vol. iii, p. 36) that in Buin (S. Bougainville) only similar kinds of things are exchanged; a thing for temporary use, such as food, will not be exchanged for something permanently lasting, such as a tool. It will be seen that in Buka and North Bougainville, while this holds good in general, e.g. for the fish-taro exchange, it is not universal, since taro may be given in exchange for pots and for *hiku*.

and

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the house. When you want to come back, beat on the root of a tree and I shall hear you and put on my *takop*." (The *takop* is the hood worn by the women in accordance with the rule of avoidance which forbids them to see or be seen by their sons-in-law.)

Then she took a knife and cut a piece of her flesh and cooked it. Then she chewed areca nut and spat the juice about. When her son-in-law and his wife came back she fooled them. They asked: "Who has been chewing areca nut here?" She said: "Some people who came to bring us a pig." She gave the two of them pieces of meat. The couple ate the flesh of their relative.

They went again to work, the two of them. They talked to their child, they made him lie down in the roof under a food-basket. Tchinaleke took off her *takop*, and the child saw her bones and her flesh. He was afraid, and he urinated. It dripped down and wetted Tchinaleke's bones. She thought it was water, that the others had hidden. Her flesh gave her pain. Then the child cried out, from his place in the rafters, he was afraid of Tchinaleke, she was like a skeleton.

The man and his wife came back, they asked the child: "Didn't you see them? Didn't you see the people who brought a pig to-day?" The child said to them: "There isn't any pig. Tchinaleke is fooling you both. She cuts her flesh and cooks it, and makes you think it is pig. You are eating the flesh of Tchinaleke." Then they said to Tchinaleke: "You have been fooling us about your flesh." Tchinaleke was very angry, she chased them away, they ran away. Tchinaleke wanted to beat them. They ran away, they climbed up a *tchiniv* (tall slender tree used for making dug-out canoes, the word is also used for "canoe"). Tchinaleke went to climb up behind them, she wanted to beat them. They teased her, they said: "You climb up a *karao*." (A plant of the ficus tribe, which has runners dropping straight to the ground from the branches of trees.)